

Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

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S E C R E T STATE 016399 TOSEC 010133

NODIS

FOL REPEAT OF KINSHASA 0595 TO SECSTATE JAN 22

QTE:

S E C R E T KINSHASA 0595

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DEPT PLEASE PASS USUN IMMEDIATE AND USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE AND
OTHER POSTS AS DESIRED

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2

TAGS: PFOR AO

SUBJ: ANGOLA: CONSULTATION WITH MOBUTU JAN 21

REF: STATE 14140

1. SUMMARY: DESPITE CONTINUING PREOCCUPATION WITH THREAT TO ZAIRE'S
SECURITY, MOBUTU REMAINS COMMITTED TO PLAYING ACTIVE DIPLOMATIC
ROLE ON ANGOLA. GOZ'S PRESENT INTENTION IS TO CONSULT WITH ZAMBIA,
SENAGAL AND CAMEROON WITH VIEW TO HAVING DELEGATION AT FON MIN
LEVEL PRESENT CASE OF AFRICAN MODERATES IN WASHINGTON. MOBUTU ASKED
FOR US ASSITANCE IN COUNTERING PRESSURES ON UGANDA AND RWANDA TO

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RECOGNIZE MPLA. END SUMMARY.

2. I MET WITH MOBUTU ALONE FOR ONE HOUR EVENING JAN 21. PRES OBVIOUSLY HAD HAD LONG, DIFFICULT DAY, INCLUDING SESSION WITH SMTF PARTNERS WHO DELIVERED NEWS THEY WERE MOTHBALLING COPPER PROJECT (SEPTEL). HE RESPONDED WELL, HOWEVER, TO POINTS CONTAINED REFTEL AND DISCUSSED WITH CONSIDERABLE ENTHUSIASM IDEA OF ORGANIZING AFRICAN DELEGATION TO VISIT US.

3. I BEGAN BY REITERATING OUR ADMIRATION FOR HIS PAST AND PRESENT DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS ON ANGOLA AND OUR INTENTION TO CONTINUE LENDING ALL POSSIBLE SUPPORT AND COOPERATION. IN THIS REGARD, I ASSURED MOBUTU OF OUR READINESS TO HELP IN SECURITY COUNCIL IN SUPPORT OF ZAIRE'S LETTER CONCERNING DILOLO ATTACK. I NOTED THAT IN ITS FINAL FORM LETTER HAD NOT REQUESTED UN INVESTIGATION OF INCIDENT, THEREBY AVOIDING POSSIBLE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE. I ALSO SUGGESTED THAT SUPPORT OF OTHER AFRICAN STATES MIGHTOE ENLISED TO GIVE ADDED WEIGHT TO ZAIRE'S CHARGES. MOBUTU EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR OUR WILLINGNESS TO HELP AND SAID GOZ HAD NO INTENTION AT THIS POINT OF GOING BEYOND MERELY INFORMING UN OF WHAT HAD HAPPENED. HE NOTED WITH SATISFACTION PUBLICITY ZAIRE'S MOVE HAD ALREADY ATTRACTED - VOA, BBC, WORLD PRESS - AS WELL AS SENSITIVE REACTION FROM SOVIETS. HE AGREED SEEK ADDITIONAL AFRICAN SUPPORT, AND ALSO TO BE READY WITH STIFF REBUTTAL IF ANGOLA INJECTED INTO SC DEBATE ON NAMIBIA LATER THIS MONTH.

4. WE THEN MOVED TO POSSIBLE SCENARIOS FOR VISIT TO US BY NGUZA AND DELEGATION OF AFRICAN MODERATES. BEFORE I COULD GO VERY FAR, MOBUTU BROKE IN TO SAY THAT IN HIS EYES THERE WERE TWO ESSENTIAL STEPS: THE FIRST AND BY FAR MOST IMPORTANT WAS OBTAINING US ASSURANCES WITH RESPOECT TO ZAIRE'S SECURITY IN THE FACE OF THE SOVIET THREAT; FOR THIS NGUZA SHOULD GO TO WASHINGTON SOONEST TO DELIVER MOBUTU'S LETTER TO PRES FORD AND TO DISCUSS MATTERS WITH HIGH US OFFICIALS. SECOND, GALVANIZE KEY AFRICAN MODERATES TO PLAY MORE ACTIVE DIPLOMATIC ROLE ON ANGOLA, INCLUDING FORCEFUL PRESENTATION OF THEIR CASE TO US. MOBUTU INDICATED HIS DESIRE TO ASSESS RESULTS OF FIRST STEP BEFORE DECIDING HOW FAR ZAIRE COULD GO ON SECOND. AS FOR COMPOSITION OF DELEGATION TO GO TO US, MOBUTU THOUGHT IT SHOULD INCLUDE THOSE COUNTRIES VISITED BY ASST SEC SHAUFELE (I.E., ZAIRE, GABON, CAMEROON, IVORY COAST AND SENEGAL) PLUS ZAMBIA AND PERHAPS KENYA.

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5. I SAID WE FULLY UNDERSTOOD MOBUTU'S CONCERNS RE ZAIRE'S SECURITY, AND WE WERE ALSO PLEASED BY HIS CONTINUED READINESS TO PLAY LEADING ROLE AMONG MODERATES ON ANGOLA. I THEN SAID I THOUGHT THERE MIGHT BE WAY TO KILL TWO BIRDS WITH ONE STONE: WHILE DEPT WAS READY TO RECEIVE NGUZA ON SEPARATE MISSION, IT MIGHT BE PREFERABLE TO HAVE HIM PLAY EFFECTIVE ROLE AS MEMBER OF AFRICAN DELEGATION AND AT SAME TIME UTILIZE GROUP VISIT TO HOLD

SEPARATE, BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS ON SECURITY MATTERS. I ADDED THAT, WHILE I WAS SURE DEPT WOULD CONSIDER ADDITIONAL AFRICAN VISITORS, IT HAD SPECIFICALLY INDICATED READINESS TO WELCOME DELEGATION OF EITHER CHIEFS OF STATE OR OTHER HIGH OFFICIALS FROM ZAIRE, ZAMBIA CAMEROON AND SENEGAL. MOBUTU WAS VISIBLY PLEASED BY IDEA OF CHIEFS OF STATE GOING TO WASHINGTON. HOWEVER, AFTER SOME THOUGHT AND FURTHER DISCUSSION, HE INDICATED (1) THAT NGUZA SHOULD GO AS PART OF AFRICAN DELEGATION AND (2) THAT IN ORDER TO AVOID DELAYS AND COMPLICATIONS, DELEGATION SHOULD BE AT FONMIN LEVEL AND LIMITED TO FOUR COUNTRIES WE HAD SUGGESTED. HE SAID NGUZA COULD BE DISPATCHED ALMOST IMMEDIATELY TO SEEK AGREEMENT OF THE OTHER GOVTS, STARTING WITH ZAMBIA THIS WEEKEND. IF OTHER AGREES, DELEGATION SHOULD BE READY TO PROCEED TO WASHINGTON BY THE END OF NEXT WEEK. HE REITERATED, HOWEVER, THAT NGUZA COULD NOT NEGLECT ZAIRE'S OWN, URGENT SECURITY PROBLEMS DURING COURSE OF VISIT. MOBUTU MADE NO MENTION OF BULA'S SEEING THE SECRETARY AND I DID NOT RAISE THIS MATTER EITHER.

6. MOBUTU WENT ON TO DISCUSS IMPORTANCE OF HOLDING TOGETHER 23 AFRICAN MODERATES IN THE FACE OF CONTINUING MPLA/SOVIET EFFORTS TO ERODE THEIR RANKS. HE SAID HE WAS WORRIED ABOUT TWO OF THEM, AND HE NEEDED OUR HELP. THEY WERE UGANDA AND RWANDA. AMIN WAS UNPREDICTABLE AND SUSCEPTIBLE TO INDUCEMENTS FROM ANY QUARTER. MOBUTU SAID HE HAD WORKED HARD TO KEEP HIM POINTED IN RIGHT DIRECTION

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AND THAT THIS HAD REQUIRED CONSTANT CARE AT ADDIS. MOBUTU WOULD RENEW HIS EFFORTS WHEN HE VISITS KAMPALA AGAIN JAN 24. WOULD IT BE POSSIBLE, MOBUTU ASKED, FOR HIM TO CARRY TO AMIN SOME ADDITIONAL ENCOURAGEMENT REGARDING US WILLINGNESS TO MOVE TOWARD REESTABLISHING RELATIONS? MOBUTU THOUGHT THIS MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE WOULD HELP KEEP AMIN IN LINE. I REMINDED MOBUTU OF OUR POSITIVE RESPONSE ALREADY CONVEYED TO AMIN BY BULA AT THE OAU SUMMIT, AND NOTED THAT REESTABLISHING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WAS SELDOM SOME-
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THING THAT COULD BE DONE OVERNIGHT. HOWEVER, I ASSURED MOBUTU I WOULD CONVEY HIS REQUEST TO WASHINGTON.

7. ON RWANDA, MOBUTU SAID HIS MOST RECENT CONTACTS WITH PRES HABYARIMANA INDICATED THAT, DESPITE LATTER'S FIRM AND COURAGEOUS STAND AGAINST MPLA RECOGNITION TO DATE, HEAVY PRESSURES FROM THE OTHER SIDE WERE MOUNTING FAST. COULD THE US NOT HELP BY DOING SOMETHING (E.G., INCREASED AID, SOME POLITICAL GESTURE) THAT WOULD SERVE TO FORTIFY HABYARIMANA'S WILL? I ACKNOWLEDGED RWANDA'S HELPFUL STAND AND AGAIN PROMISED TO PASS ON MOBUTU'S REQUEST.

8 COMMENT/ACTION REQUESTED: IT IS EVIDENT MOBUTU TAKES PRIDE IN HIS DIPLOMATIC ACCOMPLISHMENTS TO DATE AND INTENDS TO GO ON PLAYING ACTIVE ROLE. WHILE IT IS DIFFICULT TO TELL FROM HERE WHETHER THERE IS ANY BASIS FOR HIS FEARS RE UGANDA AND RWANDA,

I SUGGEST WE CONSIDER HIS WARNINGS CAREFULLY. SINCE MOBUTU LEAVES
JAN 24 FOR VISIT TO UGANDA (AND PERHAPS ALSO RWANDA), I WILL NEED TO
RECEIVE BEFORE THEN WHATEVER RESPONSE DEPT CAN MAKE IF WE WISH
TO STRENGTHEN HIS HAND. DEPT MIGHT ALSO CONSIDER INSTRU-
CTING EMBASSY KIGALI TO MAKE RENEWED PITCH TO PRES HABYARIMANA.
CUTLER
UNQTE ROBINSON

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